Original Research   **Open Access**

The Role of Ideology in Political Communication and Media

Fatma Çakmak
Muğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi, Fethiye A.S.M.K. Meslek Yüksekokulu, Türkiye

Abstract

The significant communication matters which are exceedingly studied are political communication, ideology and media. In the literature, political communication studies, which are generally included in the electoral periods, studies on ideology, which are the subject of critical approaches, and media studies within both mainstream and critical studies are frequently encountered. However; by conveying political communication to a broader dimension, the studies which centered the ideology and indicate to the power of manipulating the masses and to ideologies that are placed in discourses in terms of political communication, are nearly minute amount. Nowadays except for opportunities are provided to masses by media, with serviced ownership structure and in addition to this, the function of transmitting ideologies that break away from reality, moves the media to a dangerous position. In this study, which aims to gain a different perspective on the literature and to draw the attention of ideologies to political messages in order to influence and direct the masses in political communication and at the point of transferring these ideologies; firstly, these concepts were explained and then, how ideology came to life through the media in political communication. When it is eveluated from this point of view, scanning method was used on this study which is aimed to contribute with an authentic perspective on literature, and it was reached the active role of ideologies on political communication and the reality that media directed with this ideologic affect the masses.
Keywords: Political communication; Ideology; Media; Manipulation.

1. Introduction

Political communication is shown as restrictive studies involving electoral period at many sources but they are a long-term studies which refer to a widely area such as propaganda, public relations, lobbying, advertisement. Nowadays thanks to the constant development of globalisation and technology, political communication shows itself on the every national or international process and it has gradually more complex form.

On the other hand; the changing form of media caused to arise as a concept to be questioned by detracting from traditional benefits. Today media maintains it's existence with the influence of globalisation and capitalist processes under a number of powers and ownership structure. An another complex concept with different approaches is ideology that is important in terms of political communication, but in terms of target groups, can be dangerous. Because ideologies are produced by person, group or organisations that have the power and are intended to be placed in the minds of the target groups.

In the light of all these, in this study, except that the known basis content of political communication, the relation with ideology and the role of ideology in political communication is emphasized and the function of the media is mentioned. In this study, which aims to present the point where it comes from the interaction of the concepts of political communication, ideology and media, the literature has been screened and a literary light has been shed on the fact that ideologies are conveyed through the media in political communication and that the target masses are manipulated without being aware.

2. Methodology of the Study
2.1. Purpose of the Study

It is aimed to draw attention to influence and guide the masses, ideologies have become the focal point of political discourse, the manipulation function of media by reproducing the truth within the framework of ideologies at the point of transferring these ideologies and it's power. In this way, it is aimed that political communication contributes to the literature with a unique perspective except for representing a limited area covering election periods.

2.2. Method of the Study

Scanning method was used in the study. Scanning method is a method that is made to identify the available situation and that provides a literature light to the research subject. Scanning studies, which are widely used in social sciences, are researches aimed that the investigator is not an independent variable or has no manipulation on factors, are intended to describe with the bare fact the existence of a situation in the past or the present (Büyüköztürk, 2014). Scanning research aims to reveal that actual changes in the time or the inside of a specific situation (Christensen *et al.*, 2015). In field researches carried out by scanning method, after presenting the situation, evaluations are made about that subject and positive or negative opinions are created.

2.3. Hypothesis of the Study

This study was prepared that based on the assumption that the studies of political communication are generally evaluated in a limited area covering election periods in the literature and in the context of power and the media, the use of ideologies and the impact on the masses are kept in the background.

3. "Political Communication" Concept and Followings-Behind-Followers

In order to clarify the concept of political communication, it is necessary to explain a number of terms that are seems like similar to each other. It would be appropriate to start with a differentiation between political and political concepts. As Mouffe (2015), there are two different approaches; political science which deals with ampirical political sphere and political theory as an area of philosophers who study the essence of politics, not the realities of politics. Theorists like Hannah Arendt, regard political as a freedom and public, negotiation place while others think political as the field of power, conflict and antagonism. Therefore, dimension of the antagonism, which is seen as the founding element of the societies, and with "politics", it is understood that there is an order created by the practices and institutions that enable people to live together in the context of the conflicts caused by politics.

On the other hand, communication is located with very comprehensive and different identification from each other in literature. According to Fiske (2015), communication is a human activity that is known to everyone but very few people can define satisfactorily, in addition; communication is not a study subject with the normal academic meaning of the word, but a multidisciplinary field of study. The side communication which is defined as the process school seems as the process of influencing the behavior or mental state of another person, and describes as the transmission and transmission of the senders and recipients by means of coding and decoding. Semiology school describes the communication as production and change of meanings that dwells on the role of texts in culture and seems as a field deals with how texts interatcs with people.

Political communication in the most general definition; it is a special form of power struggle by individuals or communities. All communication activities, from proparaganda to scandal, from upside-down communcations to operations in organs of the state, from activities of pressure groups to public relations, without making news for media to panel discussions, from brainwashing to political advertising, take part within this context (Çankaya, 2015). Political communication also is the usage of various communication types and techniques to adopt specific ideological aims and policies of political actors to certain groups, masses, countries or blocks and to convert and put into action when necessary (Aziz, 2007). Communication is important for political actors in order to make their ideologies dominant and to gain legitimacy in a social sense. While political communication covers all areas of politics, it emerges as a reflection of the thoughts and actions of politicians, especially during election periods. The necessity of creating a change in behavior and thinking in the desired direction and the necessity of ensuring this continuity necessitates political communication (Yalın, 2006). Essentially, political communication when it is considered in all respects, from past to present when existing concepts of governing and governed, showing itself in national or international every environment and a compulsory for all these relations to be maintained, is a comprehensive concept.

While political communication is a complex network of activities covering a wide period of time, such as lobbying, media supervision, agenda setting, setting up pressure groups of political parties and making them activate, the directing to public institutions' advertising activities by the government party; signed campaigns, which are achieved with certain budgets in the mass media including a short period before election, are defined as political advertising (Çankaya, 2015). Therefore, many activities, which are mostly defined as political communication, actually fall within the scope of political advertising. Political communication points to a much wider area, including political advertising.

Theories of political communication were first developed by American Harold Lasswell in his doctoral thesis on the effects of propaganda. The basic question of Lasswell's thesis is; Who, whom, in what ways, what says and what effects that it are said? (Lilleker, 2013). From this point of view its can be said that political communication virtually is an influence process. Those who hold political power aim to influence and persuade masses in order to mold public opinion on communicate with the masses. In this context, the ideology for the politicians gathered around certain ideas and for the voters who support them or develop opposing views, the ideology should be seen as an important and essential concept for political communication.

4. What Is Ideology, What Is Not?

4.1. Theoretically Ideology

The ideology derived from the French word "ideologie" in Turkish dictionary (2005: 936); is defined as creating a political and social discipline, the whole of political, legal, scientific, esthetic thoughts which are directs behaviours of a power, a party and a group.

There are many similar and different approaches and definitions in the literature about ideology. According to Debord (2014), ideology; it is the foundation of a class society thought in the course of history, with its contradictions. Ideological phenomena have never been simple delusions, rather they are the deformed consciousness of realities, and thus, are the real agents that drive a truly deforming action in return. Ideology, which is the abstract will and illusion of the universal, when becomes legitimate through universal abstraction and the effective dictatorship of the illusion in modern society, it is no longer the voluntary struggle of the partial, and its victory. At this point, the ideological claim earns a kind of definite positivist perfection. It is no longer a historical choice but a reality. In Gabel's book, "Wrong Consciousness", the parallelism between ideology and schizophrenia

should be placed in the economic process of the materialization of ideology. Society has become what ideology had been. In a society where no one can be recognized by others, every individual becomes unable to recognize his own reality. Based on Debord's approach, an ideological environment was formed in which the separation was centered.

According to Althusser (2003) ideology represents the fictitious relationships between individuals and real existence conditions. Ideology also creates the symbolic relationship we have established with reality and transforms people into subjects. In fact, although the subjects are shaped by linguistic and psychic processes, ideology ensures that individuals see themselves as false perpetrators of self-determination. The subject misunderstands itself as a unique individual, not as an identity built by the social (Stevenson, 2008).

According to van (2003), ideology is the basis of how a group is socially represented, and it is the beliefs that are formed in social memory in the form of a kind of group scheme that expresses the identity of a group. The main propositions that fill this scheme control the acquisition of group informations and attitudes and an acquisition of personal models formed by group members on social events. These mental models are representations that control social practices, including the production and understanding of discourse. Most of the ideological ideas are learned by starting from family and close environment, listening to other group members and reading. Later, ideologies continue to be learned through a series of topics and texts, watching television, and reading books, advertisements, newspapers, novels, or conversations with colleagues or friends (van, 2003). From this point of view, the ideologies in human memory are not thoughts, beliefs or ideas of man, but thoughts, beliefs or ideas created by people from all walks of life. Therefore, when ideology is aforesaid, it can be said that the messages, which are constantly exposed through face to face or mass media, contain a bunch of ideologies and that the receivers are shaped by these ideologies.

In contrast to the general acceptance of ideology, the function of ideology according to Marx; is to load false consciousness to the masses and to keep the masses under control in this way. For this reason, Marx argues that the ideas of the ruling class are dominant in all ages, that the class, which is the dominant material power of society, is also the dominant mental power, by declaring the class that holds the means of material production also has the means of mental production at its disposal; explains that the ideas that guide people are shaped by power (Marx and Engels, 1999). In other words, those who direct society are those who hold material or mental power, furthermore; ideologies are produced by them, and individuals who make up the society are always influenced by the ideologies of powerful groups.

Althusser (2003) says that the ideology that he refers to as a system of representation is a set of representations that the relationship determines the life styles that individuals establish with the real world, and he says that no class state can permanently retain state power without implementing its own hegemony within and above its ideological apparatus. On the grounds that ideologies are not produced by people's minds, Althusser does not regard ideology as false consciousness. Ideologies are produced by the state's ideological apparatuses such as churches, mosques, schools, trade unions and the media. These institutions teach people how to think (McLellan, 2012). These institutions carefully strive to make the power of the state legitimate and unify. They try to make it impossible to think or do opposite. It is the ideology of the state which is the real and the only one.

Raymond Williams has identified three main uses of ideology. They are a system of beliefs specific to a particular class or group, a system of deceptive beliefs that may contradict with true or scientific knowledge, the general process of producing ideas with misconceptions or false consciousness and meaning (Williams, 1977) (Fiske, 2015). When it is considered these approaches and definitions, ideology necessarily arises from a group and belongs to that group and affects the members of the group and others. The individual, who takes into consideration the group consciousness with the effect of a social being, usually turns directly to ideology because he / she needs, and sometimes he starts to adopt the ideology without any questioning.

Stuart Hall puts culture and ideology at the center of his studies. His ideological theory is much more related to the social and cultural contexts of structuralist theories. The purpose of Hall is to define the ideology as a concept that reveals the politics of meaning within the media institutions. The media institutions and their texts are important ideological dimensions that are formed by our understanding of the world or by means of meaning. Hall takes part in the communication literature for the production and reception of the media content, with name is called coding-decryption. It combines the coding-decoding model with the concept of ideology. According to Hall, professional codes operate in the hegemonic field of the dominant code. According to this, media institutions are forced to take part in this process even if they do not intend to cooperate with hegemonic forces in their own countries or regions. In hegemonic relationship, ideology functions not in individuals' intentions, but in social structures and practices. Thus, people do not realize that they are in a hegemonic relationship and that they are exposed to a certain dominant ideology (Güngör, 2013). This situation is one of the most important reasons for the easyly settlement of ideology. Because when people feel that they are tried to be persuaded or think, they often show defenses. So the easiest way to persuade is to make this without being noticed. For this reason, it can be easily said that both it is a natural necessity for the voter masses to be in a common ideology to belong to a group because of becoming a social being, and that the media is utilized to accept ideologies.

Foucault discussed ideology with the concept of discourse. According to him, the discourses have never became independent from the power relations. The concept of discourse has great importance because it provides a way of thinking about the culture and power that comes with the concept of ideology and which is free from the intellectual burden (Smith, 2008). Foucault looks for the ideology produced by the power and wants to convey to the masses. Because ideologies, through discourse, are sent to the masses' consumption secretly or openly. The discourse created by the media in this process is very important because the media is a bridge between power and the society and is the carrier of ideology.

When a common reading of all approaches, definitions and evaluations about ideology is made, it is seen that ideology is a phenomenon surrounding our life and processes produced by the forces that govern the society in which we live. In fact, it is seen that the opinions, beliefs or ideas that we think belong to us, belong to those who have power and the most basic provider of this situation is the media.

4.2. Ideology in Terms of Political Leaders and Voters

To adopt certain ideas from the political point of view, to produce certain ideas and to create specific goals were certainly born out of an ideology and political parties have been shaped around these ideologies. As long as political parties and leaders exist, they progress within the framework of these ideologies and the ideologies they create within the process, and they shape their political advertising and all other political communication activities on the basis of these ideologies. It is not possible to talk about a political process without a certain ideology.

The electorate or target group is one of the active sides of political communication, in the sense of the mass that the political leaders are trying to influence and which they intend to create public opinion by persuading a certain view. Basically, in political communication, the voter expresses the masses who have the right to vote in democracies. The main purpose of political leaders, who are the other side of political communication, is to get votes from this mass. At this point, the voting behavior of the voter depends on many factors. Sometimes individuals are affected by groups such as family, friends and relatives, sometimes by using their past experiences, sometimes they can have voting behaviour by being influenced by rational targets or by any motivation factor affecting their choice. Undoubtedly, one of the important factors affecting decisions is the role of the media. Although there are different views and approaches about the media, in the direction of critical approaches, the media can direct the masses to certain behaviors with the power to manipulate the masses. The media which creates the content of broadcasting according to the ownership structure that it mostly serves, serves certain ideologies in this direction. It is possible to reveal the ideological broadcast of written, visual or aural mass medias, with certain communication research technique and methods. There are many studies in the literature made by these methods and techniques.

According to Lilleker (2013), the society generally have more power than considered. The society can decide whether to believe, what to follow and what to ignore or not. It can be said that there is a voice on elector's mind what about taken message from political actors. This sound may be a political critique publication, the ideas of colleagues or can be a newspaper headline or one's own ideology. All this can determine how political communication will be met and whether the message is believed or not. But all these are inspired by some ideologies. Indeed, according to van (2003), ideologies are socially shared beliefs related to characteristic features such as; the identity of the group and its place in society, their interests and aims, the relations with other groups, reproductions and natural environments. In this respect, individuals act together with the group they belong to and this collective consciosness as an ideology.

When voting behaviour of voter is considered, it is important both ideological structure of voter and the ideology that is served by media. According to Kalender (2005), ideologies are two-part belief systems that provide an action plan for their supporters. The first one of these is purposes, values and self-beliefs that cover assumptions about the world, and the second one is principles of activity derived from this. While the self beliefs remain constant despite the flow of the event, the principles of activity can be reformulated with the changing wishes of the environmental conditions. At this point, it is possible to say that the functions which can affect the principles of activity, have passed through the filter of the media and reached the voters. Although beliefs do not change easily, the principles of activity can be changed frequently by the world which is created by the media and the reproduction of reality.

In this communication process, it is the media that plays an active role. In political communication, the media presents contents that represents ideologies between political power and the target group. It removes the external world from reality and reconstructs it from the framework of ideologies. The target masses are shaped under the influence of many ideologies that have become intricate. The media as explained in more detail under the heading of media, conveys their ideologies to the target group in serving the individuals or groups who hold certain powers. At this point, voters are easily manipulated through media and their ideology can be changed in the desired direction.

5. Media and More

The media today are considered to be the fourth power after the legislative, executive and judiciary. The concept of the fourth power was used by Edmund Burke for the first time at the end of the eighteenth century and the media was considered a new pluralist / democratic institution and the fourth power (Dutton, 2009; Erdoğan, 2013; Hampton, 2010). This situation has been supported for a long time by political philosophers and journalists, who serve as a protector against the over-state power and which serve to play a key role in politics as a critical and independent advocate of public interests (Donohue et al., 1995; Erdoğan, 2013). In addition, media which is suggested to take part against legislation, executive, judiciary and described as the forth power and therefore; the situation of interwining with politic power of media, which has a task to eveluate about other three powers and to judge from functioning of these powers, it is caused that nationals to question whether media functions or not (Erdoğan, 2013; Ramonet, 2000).

On the other hand, the capitalist world of the 21st century has activated the power of money and began to gather almost all institutions around the concept of profitability. The media has also had its share and continued on its way. As in many areas, the process of conglomerate has started in the media, and any person who can make sufficient investment in this process has become the owner of a media organization. In this process, where economic power is

the focal point and directs everything, media companies need to reach sufficient profitability in order to survive. The most important providers are advertising and sales.

The critical approach assumes that power, based on the basic principles of Marxism, is in the hands of the elite in society. It argues that those who possess material power will dominate the minds by holding the intellectual power and it accepts the media as a tool for protecting and advancing the interests of these groups. In class-based capitalist society, the media is part of the ideological space in which different class views are struggling with each other. The structure and content of the media are determined by economic and political forces and production relations (Curran, 1999). The view that the classes that govern the materialist power of Marxist thought will manage the intellectual power, that those who have the means of material production can control the means of mental production and thus that the media content will be determined by the economic relations in the society at the end, constitutes the main basis of the political economy. Economic politicians argue that the media is in organic ties with the owners of power and is directly controlled by the sovereigns. While the opposing views are excluded, it is ensured that the power and the establishments reach to the society unrestrictedly (Herman and Chomsy, 1998). Economy tries to examine the structured power relations embedded in political property and control relations, to place these material relations in an historical context, and to reveal the impact of commercial and public institutions on discursive practices (Golding and ve Murdock, 1991). Stevenson (2008). It can be said that the media is subjected to the re-evaluation process through critical approaches and especially has surpassed its main purpose in the present century under the influence of capitalism, lost its idealistic structure for the society. Nowadays, a media conception has been established with a strong desire to take part alongside the strong and the desire for profitability.

While liberalism argues that mass media have an indispensable role in the protection of freedom of expression, Marxism has responded that these tools support the formation of ideological society images and representations of unequal social relations (Stevenson, 2008). Therefore, there is an opposite view to the media between the liberal and Marxist approach. According to liberalism, the media is neutral and its contents are free, according to Marxism, the media is the transmitter of ideologies produced entirely under the power of the government powers.

5.1. Media in Political Communication

Hall argues that mass media constitute the main ideological institution of modern capitalism. This can be expressed as providing the basic symbolic space in which the dominant consensus production is shaped within the communication system. Mass media operate through the production of hegemonic codes that hold the community together. Besides, the codes representing the truth are compiled from a limited area of dominant discourse that uses a restricted set of social explanations. Preferred codes acquire their ideological effects by appearing natural (Stevenson, 2008).

It is not possible to realize political communication studies independent from the mass media and the media. Nowadays, in parallel with the technology, after the written press, radio and television, getting at situation that internet and social networks have become indispensable and political communication activities are also included in this process. Those who want to be power or are government powers, use all these mass media to create public opinion. However, due to the changing / transforming nature of the media, it is no longer possible to take part in the media in equal or objective conditions. In the modernist and subsequent modernist processes and in the phenomenon of globalization, the media has been transformed with the pressure of the power and ownership structure, besides the profit and rating targets. In today, all kinds of media content that from news to films, from TV series to morning programs, from advertisemens to cartoons, contain political messages or at least ideology. But in this case, while these media contents are taken by some social groups by questioning and looking at the critically, on the other hand some social groups take unquestioningly. The masses are involuntarily directed with hese messages, which are mostly placed as subliminal messages. The target group, who is exposed to hundreds of messages every day, is affected by these messages without being aware of them, and is formed around certain ideologies emotionally or intellectually. Therefore, instead of the main task of the media that is to inform the society and to stand by the society against the forces trying to become dominant and profitable one in today, the media plays a key role in all political communication activities whose main purpose is to convince the target group.

5.2. Ideological Influence of Media

Hall (1997) argues that the meaning of the most important function of the media is its ideological function in social construction. When the ideological function of the media is not taken into account, its role in the social process is not fully understood.

The cultural studies approach, which is an important branch of the critical approach, emphasizes the concept of hegemony. According to this concept proposed by Gramsci; media institutions ensure that the class, which is governed by a consistent and consistent ideology, can participate in their domination by their own consent, and thus acts as a hegemony, producing a series of common emotional values and mechanisms that reproduce and justify the social structure. The hegemonic values in the news in the media are very effective in spreading common sense because they are thought to be natural and they are not forced (Shoemaker and Reese, 2014). As some other critical theorists point out, the ideological messages placed on media content, often allow the masses to adopt these ideologies without realizing it. Similarly, Chomsky suggested that production of consent was made on the society through the media. Here, the concept of consent implies that the ideologies adopted by the society are not compulsorily but willingly. According to Stuart Hall, the most important function of the media, is the ideological function in the social construction of meaning. According to economic politicians, the media is in an organic link

with the power holders and the content of the media is shaped by those holding the economic power. So the media cannot be distinguished from power and ideology.

Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model has an important position in the media to become the carrier and transmmitter of ideologies. Those who are defining what is news and shaping the news, making positive attempts to keep the media in a certain order and to direction; the government, the leading names of business, the owners and senior executives of important media organizations, and a variety of people or groups who are eligible to engage in constructive initiatives are prominent. Therefore, the media produces news under the pressure of these people or groups. For this reason, the fact that the media includes some facts in a subject cannot show that the subject is processed sufficiently or correctly. Mass media dissembles many facts. However, in this context, what is more important than hiding the truth is where the truth is located, its tone, whether it is repeated, which is presented within the framework of the analysis, and what are associated phenomena that make it meaningful or incomprehensible with it Herman and Chomsy (1998). By questioning and investigating this, ideologies which are placed on media contents, can be revealed.

Propaganda model; focuses on the inequality of wealth and power and the effect of this inequality on various levels of media's interests and choices. It examines the ways in which money and power choose what is appropriate to be printed by eliminating, how they push the opposing views into the side columns and trivialised them or how it is given a place by messages of dominant private interest environments (Herman and Chomsy, 1998). Unprocessed raw news passes through filters until only a distilled residue remains, which describes the premises of discourse and interpretation, describes at first of all whether what constitutes a news value or not and explains the fundamentals and functions of processes that turn into propaganda campaigns. The operation of these filters is also very natural and It is believed to be objective by media employees (Herman and Chomsky, 2012).

Even though the objectivity of the media in the past has left a question mark in the minds, it is no longer possible to think that the media is independent of ideology in today's world. Moreover, it can be said that media's ideologies have become one of the main functions of mediation at the point of transfer.

5.3. Political Communication, Ideology, Media Triangle

It can be said that these concepts are not independent from each other based on the explanations made after the necessary literature researches on political communication, ideology and the changing / transforming structure of the media. It is clear that the political power produced certain ideologies in order to maintain its existence. Each political formation actually emerged from the basis of a certain ideology and continued to exist within the framework of these ideologies. On the other hand, individuals are gathered around the ideologies produced by certain groups, social or dominant powers with the motivation of belonging. Therefore, when the two active and effective branches of political communication, which are changing from time to time as the source and the target audience, take part in ideologically the same denominator, political communication succesfully.

There is no doubt that the media will establish this bridge in political communication. All the efforts of the governments in the relations between the media and the political authorities are to ensure that the media is on their side or in their control (Aziz, 2007). The media continues to exist as a carrier and transmitter of certain ideologies with the necessity of taking part with a number of powers. The media includes ideological messages in all kinds of content such as news, films, series, advertisements, children's programs, and tries to direct the masses. Due to political conflicts, this situation has almost settled in all media institutions.

6. Discussion and Result

Political communication, outside the main scope of political communication during the election period, widely known as all kinds of communicative work to persuade the target audience, relationship with the ideology and In this study, which aims to investigate the function of the media in this subject and to reveal the point where it comes from the interaction of the concepts of political communication, ideology and media, as a result of the literature review; it has been reached the fact that the focal point of political communication are formed by the ideologies, these ideologies are conveyed through the media and the target masses are manipulated through the media and unconsciously adopt these ideologies.

Political actors always have the power or hold and to gather the target masses around certain ideologies to sustain their existence. It is not possible for any political formation to be independent of ideology, and every political formation is based on an ideological basis. Individuals who act with the inclination to belong to the powerful or act with the motivation to belong to a certain group, often think that they are acting with a social consciousness by adopting these produced ideologies.

The two branches of political communication are provided by the media with an informative and impressive communication between the political leaders and the desired audience. Although the dangers and ethical issues of the media often come to the fore due to the widespread use of critical studies, the media still have considerable authority over the power of manipulation. For this reason, the media plays a leading role to be the carier of political ideologies. the media cannot be distinguished from any political communication work when considered the 21st century as an age of knowledge, communication and technology. In the light of all this, the fact that ideologies produced in political communication are placed in the media contents and adopted by the target masses, has been revealed.

As a result, it is not possible to think of the ideology independent of each other. Throughout history, governments have used many ideological ideas or beliefs to keep power in their hands, and have used these

ideologies to reach, influence and persuade the masses. When this situation is combined with the reproducing reality function of media, and the world cannot be thought of as a media independent, the masses are shaped around ideologies in a process where reality and fiction are intertwined. In other words, the politics, whose aim is to create public opinion, cannot have any message apart from ideology. When the media side of the political communication, which will be realized by transferring these messages, is thought to be related to ideology, ideology is the focus of both political communication and media.

References

Althusser, L. (2003). İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları, (çev. Alp Tümertekin), İthaki Yayınları, İstanbul.:

Aziz, A. (2007). Siyasal İletişim, Nobel Yayınevi, Ankara.

Büyüköztürk, Ş. (2014). Deneysel Desenler: Öntest- Sontest, Kontrol Grubu, Desen ve Veri Analizi. Pegem Akademi, Ankara.

Çankaya, E. (2015). Siyasal İletişim Dünyada ve Türkiye'de. İmge Kitabevi, Ankara.

Christensen, L. B., Johnson, R. B. and Turner, L. A. (2015). Araştırma Yöntemleri: Desen ve Analiz. (çev. ve ed. A. Aypay), Anı Yayıncılık, Ankara.

Curran, J. (1999). Kitle İletişimi Araştırmasında Yeni Revizyonizm Bir Yeniden Değerlendirme Çabası. (der. ve çev. M. Küçük), "Medya İktidar İdeoloji" içinde, Ark Yayınları, 2. Basım, Ankara.

Debord, G. (2014). Gösteri Toplumu, Ayrıntı Yayınları, Beşinci Basım, İstanbul.

Donohue, G. A., Tichenor, P. J. and ve Olien, C. N. (1995). A guard dog perspective on the role of media. *Journal of Communication,* 45(2): 115-32.

Dutton, W. H. (2009). The fifth estate emerging through the network of networks. *Prometheus: Critical Studies in Innovation,* 27(1): 1-15.

Erdoğan, İ. (2013). *Dördüncü Güç Medyadan Beşinci Güç İnternete: Demokratik Bir Dönüşüm mü Yaşanıyor?* Selçuk İletişim, Cilt:8, Sayı. 1: 176-91.

Fiske, J. (2015). İletişim Çalışmalarına Giriş. (çev. Süleyman İrvan), Pharmakon Yayınevi, Dördüncü Basım, Ankara.

Golding, P. and ve Murdock, G. (1991). *Culture, Communication and political economy, "Mass media and society", (der. J. Curran and M. Gurvetich).* Edward Arnold: Londra.

Güngör, N. (2013). İletişim Kuramlar Yaklaşımlar. Siyasal Kitabevi, 2. Baskı, Ankara.

Hall, S. (1997). *İdeoloji ve İletişim Kuramı. (der. S. İrvan), "Medya Kültür Siyaset" içinde.* Ark Yayınları, Ankara.

Hampton, M. (2010). *The fourth estate ideal in journalism history, Stuart Allan (ed), The routledge companion to news and journalism.* Routledge: London, New York. 3-12.

Herman, E. S. and Chomsy, N. (1998). Medya Halka Nasıl Evet Dedirtir. (çev. B. Akyoldaş), Minerva Yayınları, 2. Baskı, İstanbul.

Herman, E. S. and Chomsky, N. (2012). Rızanın İmalatı Kitle Medyasının Ekonomi Politiği. (çev. E. Abadoğlu), bgst Yayınları, 2. Basım, İstanbul.

Kalender, A. (2005). Siyasal İletişim Seçmenler ve İkna Stratejileri. Çizgi Kitabevi, 2. Baskı, Konya.

Lilleker, D. G. (2013). Siyasal İletişim Temel Kavramlar, Kaknüs Yayınları, İstanbul.

Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1999). Felsefe Metinleri. Sol Yayınları, Ankara.

McLellan, D. (2012). İdeoloji. (çev. B. Yıldırım), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 3. Baskı. İstanbul.

Mouffe, C. (2015). Siyasal Üzerine. (çev. M. Ratip), İletişim Yayınları, 3. Baskı, İstanbul.

Ramonet, I. (2000). *Medyanın Zorbalığı, (çev. A. Derman).* Om Yayınevi, İstanbul.

Shoemaker, P. and Reese, S. D. (2014). İdeolojinin Medya İçeriği Üzerindeki Etkisi. (der. ve çev. S. İrvan), "Medya Kültür Siyaset" içinde Pharmakon Kitap, Ankara.

Smith, P. (2008). Kültürel Kuram, Babil Yayıncılık, 2. Baskı, İstanbul.

Stevenson, N. (2008). Medya Kültürleri Sosyal Teori ve Kitle İletişimi. (çev. G. Orhon ve B. E. Aksoy), Ütopya Yayınevi, Ankara.

van, D. T. A. (2003). Söylem ve İdeoloji: Çok Alanlı Bir Yaklaşım, (çev. B. Çoban, Z. Özarslan ve N. Ateş), "Söylem ve İdeoloji, Mitoloji, Din, İdeoloji" İçinde, (ed. B. Çoban), Su Yayınları, İstanbul.

Williams, R. (1977). *Marksizm and literature.* Oxford University Press: Oxford, (Türkçesi: Marksizm ve Edebiyat, 1990, çev. E. Tarım, Adam, İstanbul).

Yalın, E. B. (2006). Siyasal İletişimin Reklam Boyutuna İlişkin Kuramsal Bir İnceleme, İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi. 25: 169- 80.